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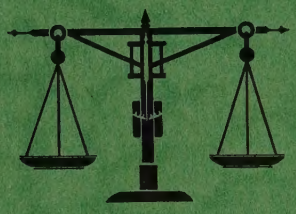
THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

A REVIEW OF SOVIET WRITING ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA



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THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

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The Mizan Newsletter aims at giving an objective and balanced account of current Soviet writings on the Middle East and Africa

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World Communism and National Movements examines a development in the attitude of the world Communist movement towards nationalist states in Asia and Africa, as formulated in the communique of the Moscow conference of Communist Parties and as subsequently expounded by Academician Ye. Zhukov in PRAVDA. This is the notion of "national democracies" - states which, while not "socialist", nevertheless follow a "revolutionary" domestic and foreign policy which merits Communist approval.

MIDDLE EAST

Soviet Views on Iraqi Problems suggests that Soviet writers are at present sensitive to what one of them has called "complications in the internal political life of the country", which perhaps accounts for their reticence on the subject. The basic Soviet premises on major Iraqi political and economic issues are reviewed.

The Middle East in the Soviet Press includes the passages in Gromyko's report to the Supreme Soviet referring to the USSR's relations with Turkey and Persia.

AFRICA

Soviet Writing on African Trade Unions illustrates the concern of Soviet writers with the "anti-colonialist" role of African trade unions, above all on an all-African basis. At the same time they bear in mind the possibilities for the development of "proletarian class ideology" in individual unions and among the rank and file.

Africa in the Soviet Press includes Soviet comment on developments in the Congo and Algeria, and on the Casablanca conference.

An index to the second volume of the Newsletter will be found at the end of this issue.

WORLD COMMUNISM AND NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS

Soviet attempts to maintain a broad area of ideological agreement with nationalist states in the Middle East and Africa encounter difficulties from two main directions - in the first place from the actions of these states themselves, and in the second place from the resulting attitudes of the local Communist Parties. Where the government in question adopts an anti-Communist position, the Soviet reaction may be one of disapproval but preservation of a working partnership, "leaving the settlement of ideological controversies to history" (Kondrashov on the UAR, IZVESTIYA 8.1.60). The local Communist Party, on the other hand, is forced into an attitude of narrow and uncompromising opposition. Thus the Soviet press is generally silent about the treatment of Communists in the UAR, whereas the international Communist organ PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM publishes lurid accounts of tortures and atrocities in UAR prisons.

The apparent reconciliation of these different attitudes, at the Meeting of Representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1960, is therefore of significance; and the statement adopted by the meeting contains certain new formulas and statements of policy which deserve examination. Communist Parties of Middle East and African countries represented at the meeting were those of Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, Jordan, Persia, Turkey, Israel, Morocco, Tunisia and South Africa.

"National democracies" in Asia and Africa The fourth section of the statement, on the anti-imperialist movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America (and Oceania) represents a radical attempt to bring within the Communist ideological scheme the whole pattern of nationalist evolution and revolution in these continents. The statement declares that "the breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system". For Communists it is vital that a movement of such proportions should receive proper ideological credentials, so that there may be no obstacles to the Communist movement's ideological patronage of it.

On this point familiar Communist claims are reasserted: that the Russian Revolution "drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the world-wide revolutionary movement"; that the Soviet victory in the Second World War, followed by the establishment of people's democracies in Europe and Asia and "the triumph of the socialist revolution in China", facilitated this development; that the socialist system has become a "reliable shield" for newly independent peoples; and that

"Communists have always recognized the progressive, revolutionary significance of national liberation wars, and are the most active champions of national independence".

The "popular front" tactics and objectives of Communist Parties in the newly independent countries are then redefined. "All the patriotic forces" of these countries, the statement continues, must be "united in a single national democratic front"; the progressive forces "can and do unite" on such "national democratic tasks" as the consolidation of political independence, agrarian reforms, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the liquidation of imperialist economic domination, the creation of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratization of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and the development of economic and cultural cooperation with "the socialist and other friendly countries".

The statement then devotes attention to "class contradictions" in these countries. The "national bourgeoisie" is described as progressive, in so far as it is anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but it is alleged that, after political independence is secured, it is inclined "more and more to compromise with domestic reaction and imperialism". "The people, however, begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses will play the leading part in solving this basic social problem."

At this point a new definition of the ideological status of certain newly independent countries is formulated: "in the present situation, favourable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national (natsional'nyy) democracy." Such an "independent national democracy" is defined as a state which "consistently upholds its political and economic independence"; fights against imperialist and military blocs and bases, and against new forms of colonialism; and rejects dictatorial and despotic forms of government, ensuring democratic rights and freedoms for its people and their participation in agrarian reform "and other democratic and social changes" and in shaping government policy.

For the establishment of such "national democracies", the statement continues, and for "a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution" the Communist Parties are actively working.

Ye. Zhukov's PRAVDA article An important article by Academician Ye. Zhukov in PRAVDA of 5th January takes up the theme of "national democracies" as presented in the Moscow conference statement. He says that many new states in Africa have won their independence not by armed struggle but as a result of concessions by the colonialists in the face of the growing national liberation movement. But, whether national

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self-determination was achieved by armed struggle or by "non-military" means, "it represents a revolutionary process". This "national, anti-imperialist, democratic revolution" now faces further tasks: to overcome economic and cultural backwardness and to achieve full independence, which is impossible without the formation of "a united national democratic front of all the patriotic forces of the nation", and above all the working class and the peasantry. The national bourgeoisie may play a progressive role in the struggle against feudalism and imperialism, but its "revolutionary potential" is limited, because of its "narrow egotistical proprietary interests"; whatever course a country liberated from colonialism may decide to follow, historical experience shows that only the non-capitalist road of development will ensure the solution of social problems and the raising of the living standard of the masses.

The Communist Parties, Zhukov goes on, are the vanguard of the working class and the most dedicated fighters for national independence, and their persecution can only assist the colonialists. Despite the slanders of imperialist propaganda, their policy is not destructive but "profoundly constructive", and this is confirmed by the fact that "one of the chief new tasks of the Communist Parties is that of struggle for the creation of states of national democracy". Zhukov then quotes the passage in the Moscow conference statement defining the attributes of a "national democracy".

It remains to be seen whether Soviet writers will now specify individual African or Asian countries by name as constituting actual or potential "national democracies". (The following article suggests that perhaps Iraq qualifies for inclusion in this category.) At all events, a new formula has been devised for the collaboration of the Communist movement with Asian and African states.

Anti-Communism in Middle East and African countries An exhaustive analysis of the Moscow conference statement would no doubt reveal the extent to which different shades of opinion within the Communist movement each receive due expression, in what is evidently a document of composite authorship. Thus it was perhaps at the instance of the Communist Parties concerned that the meeting "expressed proletarian solidarity" with imprisoned Communists in (amongst other countries) the UAR, Iraq and the Sudan, and called for "a powerful world-wide campaign" to secure their release. This seems to be the first time that, in a public pronouncement made in the Soviet Union, reference has been made to the imprisonment of Communists in the Iraqi Republic. Elsewhere the statement refers to "the reactionaries' effort to break up the national front under the slogan of 'anti-Communism' and isolate the Communists, the foremost contingent of the liberation movement"; this "weakens the national movement, is contrary to the national interests of the people and threatens the loss of national gains". Such a choice of words is distinctly mild, when compared with local Communists' outbursts on the same subject (e.g. Sa'id Mahmud, "Reign of Terror in the UAR", PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM No.12 of 1960).

SOVIET VIEWS ON IRAQI PROBLEMS

From the outset of the Iraqi revolution, the ideals which the new republican regime set itself were faithfully reported in Soviet publications. While denying that these ideals were "socialist", Soviet writers presented them as exemplary models for states embarking on the road of independent development, while still within the capitalist framwork. From the revolution until the end of 1959 much was written in the Soviet Union about the prospects for Iraq under the new regime; the fullest general account is IRAQ YESTERDAY AND TODAY, by I. Milovanov and F. Seyful'-Mulyukov, which went to press in October 1959 (elsewhere referred to in this article as "Milovanov").

In view of Soviet interest in the Iraqi Government's aims and projects, it is perhaps surprising that during 1960 the actual progress being made under the new regime received little notice in the Soviet press and periodicals, except to a small extent at the time of Mikoyan's visit to Iraq in April. On the other hand, it was considered appropriate to publish, in Soviet newspapers, criticisms of Iraqi police conduct (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.5, p.14), the treatment of the "democratic press" (M/N No.9, pp.15-16) and the authorities' attitude towards the trade unions (M/N No.5, pp.10-11 and No.10, pp.13-14). The importance of these incidental criticisms should not be exaggerated; but the absence of positive comment on the progress of affairs in Iraq is significant.

In a comment on the second anniversary of the Iraqi revolution (PRAVDA 13.7.60) A. Stupak, as if to explain his own reticence in commenting on the present Iraqi political scene, quoted a general description by Khrushchev of the post-independence phase in under-developed countries:

> "After the expulsion of the colonizers, when all-national tasks have been basically settled, peoples seek an answer to social problems with which they are confronted. Above all, this means the solution of the agrarian-peasant question and the problem of the struggle of labour with capital. In the ranks of the national liberation movement there arise social processes which inevitably give rise to differing opinions on the roads of the further development of their states."

These processes, said Stupak, had taken place in Iraq also, "giving rise to complications in the internal political life of the country".

In the absence of any detailed Soviet comment on current developments in Iraq, it is perhaps worth while to review Soviet opinions on some of the principal political issues in Iraq today, in so far as they have been comitted to writing.

Army and people The justification of the army's leadership of the Iraqi revolution, in the Soviet view, is that it is acting in the name of the Iraqi people. In his account of the final stage of the revolutionary movement, Milovanov (op.cit.) speaks first of the National Front set up in 1960, of its formation of "militant groups to prepare the people for the decisive engagement", and of the Iraqi patriots' "timely measures to draw the army to the side of the revolution", following the formation of the "patriotic underground 'Free Officers' organization", who "shared the programme of the National Front"; the army was to be "the striking force", with the active support of the popular masses.

The role of the army in the new regime is spoken of with sympathy. Milovanov notes that, under the provisional Constitution of the Republic, defence of the fatherland is a sacred duty, military service is an honour and the armed forces are "a part of the people". He remarks, with apparent approval, that "with the aim of defending the conquests of the revolution the Government of the Iraqi Republic gives great attention to the strengthening of the armed forces". He goes on to praise the establishment of the People's Militia, whose members enjoy "the affection and support" of the people.

But, if the army is represented in Soviet accounts as a popular institution, the same cannot be said of the police and the security forces. According to TRUD of 27th October 1960, the police and security organs had been interfering in trade union elections (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.10 of 1960, p.14). At the time of Mikoyan's visit to Basrah IZVESTIYA's correspondent Demchenko expressed sharp criticism of the conduct of the Basrah police (IZVESTIYA 15.4.60). After an account of the vociferous reception of the Soviet party by youth and workers, Demchenko went on:

> "Then something happened of which it is only possible to speak with regret and bewilderment. Police and soldiers forced their way into the crowd and, violently striking people with their truncheons, began to disperse the demonstrators. The same happened further on along the visitors' route. The port area was closely cordoned by troops and police. Armoured cars stood by. What gave rise to this concentration of armed force? It is difficult to escape the impression that by this means the Basrah authorities wished to isolate the Soviet guests from the population, who had prepared for them a friendly reception."

The Right wing Soviet comment on the progress of "democratic transformation" in Iraq makes frequent reference to the activities of "external and internal reaction". The picture is often drawn of a regime beset by enemies both within and without. "Internal reaction" includes not only pre-revolutionary remnants - the landlords, for example, who oppose the

land distribution programme - but also elements which supported the revolution, and in particular the Ba'th Party. "External reaction" comprises not only the "Western imperialists" but also "reactionaries" in the Arab world itself - notably the UAR.

Soviet accounts of Iraq refer to the existence of "reactionary elements" both in the army and administration and among the political parties. Milovanov says that, while it was comparatively easy to remove leading officials of the old regime from the administration, "the complete purging of the state apparatus and the army from reactionary elements was a highly complicated matter". Soviet references to action against "the progressive forces" invariably blame this on "reactionary elements" in the administration, but not on the government itself.

Of the political parties, the Ba'th Party receives the brunt of Soviet displeasure. Soviet animosity against the Ba'th Party is of comparatively recent origin. L.N. Kotlov, in MODERN SYRIA (Moscow 1958), writes with sympathy of the aims of socialism and Arab unity of the Ba'th or Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, as constituted in Syria; he notes that it opposed Western military alliances, favoured union with Egypt, had strong support among students and in the army and had locally collaborated with the Communists in a joint electoral platform.

However, since the anti-Communist campaign in the UAR, and since Abd as-Salam Arif's abortive conspiracy in Iraq (referred to by Milovanov as "the conspiracy of the Ba'thists"), the Ba'th Party in Iraq and throughout the Arab world became a target of Soviet invective. While its hostility to the Communists was the chief reason for Soviet antagonism to it, the fact that at the same time it propagated pan-Arab ideals rendered these even more suspect in Soviet eyes. Milovanov considers that the Ba'th leaders in Iraq, "dissatisfied with the independent policy of the new regime", and "enlisting the support of foreign circles", were determined to"betray the interests of the people's masses". Milovanov's strictures should be read in conjunction with two SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK articles on the subject of the Ba'th Party, by F. Voloshin (No.7 of 1959) and by L. Viktorov (No.1 of 1960). The party's claim to lead the Arab "national liberation struggle" is particularly resented. The party "adopts an ultra-nationalist position, accusing other national forces of moderation in the struggle against progressive organizations in the Arab East"; it has no firm mass support, but its members "present themselves as pioneers of the national liberation struggle", while in fact preparing to deal a treacherous blow to the democratic forces.

While remaining aloof from the actual recriminations exchanged between Iraq and the UAR, Soviet writers place the responsibility for the present bed relations upon the UAR. Milovanov says:

"The delusions of certain UAR circles regarding the union of the Iraqi Republic with the UAR, and the accompanying hostile campaign against democratic reforms in Iraq, could not fail to have a negative effect on the relations between the two Arab states."

The 1960 annual of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia refers to the "slanderous attacks on the Iraqi Republic" made by the then UAR Ambassador in Iraq, and notes that he was expelled from Iraq and had subsequently been made head of an "Organization for the National Consolidation of Iraq" which "reactionary emigres" had set up in the UAR.

The "real unity of the Arabs", says F.M. Seyful'-Mulyukov (IRAQ IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND PROGRESS, Moscow 1959), can only be established "on a democratic basis, embracing all sections of society"; "to ignore the interests of the working class, the peasantry or the middle classes would undermine Arab unity and would only assist its enemies, the imperialists".

The Left wing During the first year of the Iraqi Republic much was said in Soviet publications about the "democratic" character of the revolution and the scope which it afforded for the activities of mass organizations - peasants', trade unions, youth, women's, defenders of peace, etc. Particular importance is attached to the creation of the peasants' societies; as was indicated in the preceding article, peasant participation in agrarian reforms is, in the Communist view, a sine qua non of a true "national democracy".

While not exaggerating the actual membership of the Iraqi Communist Party or its influence on Government policy, Soviet writers testify to the prevalence of Communist ideas, particularly among Iraqi youth. Georgiy Ivanovich Kublitskiy, in his account of a visit to Iraq soon after the revolution (THE SWORDS AND THE EAR OF CORN, Moscow 1959), tells how he got into conversation in the street with some students who had been arguing over a book of Lenin's writings:

"I asked my new acquaintances if there were Communists among them. They shook their heads. Do only Communists read Lenin? Lenin is for all, he was a great friend of the Arabs, he fought against imperialism."

Elsewhere Kublitskiy refers to the attitude of a journalist whom he met, a National Democratic Party sympathizer, towards the Communists:

"He mentioned several times, with great respect, the name of the National Democratic Party leader Kamil al-Chadarchi, a man of broad democratic convictions who was not afraid openly to

oppose the mercenary politicians. 'Under the old regime we often quarrelled with the Communists, but Nuri as-Sa'id persecuted both them and us', he remarked in passing."

The ban imposed on political party activity in 1959, and - when the ban was lifted - the Iraqi Communist Party's failure to receive official recognition as such, seems to have inhibited Soviet comment on the internal political situation in Iraq. The Soviet press has voiced criticism of the suppression of the Communist organ ITTIHAD ASH-SHA'B, and of intervention by the authorities in trade union elections (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.11 of 1960, p.6). Faced by what A. Stupak (PRAVDA 13.7.60) calls "complications in the internal political life of the country", it is not surprising that Soviet writers have turned their attention from Iraq's politics to its economic prospects.

The role of capitalism On the role of capital in Iraq's economic development Milovanov states quite plainly: "The economic transformations in progress in the Iraqi Republic are being carried out within the framework of the capitalist method of production." Iraqi leaders, he says, have affirmed that they regard private initiative as the basis of economic development, and the provisional Constitution guarantees private property and, while "regulating its social role", provides that it may be confiscated only in the public interest, due compensation being made. The government's aim is to channel into industry the private capital which has previously been used in land speculation. "For Iraq's national bourgeoisie, whose development was for long years hindered by foreign monopolies, the revolution of 14th July opened wide possibilities of entrepreneur activity. The first months after the revolution in Iraq saw the revitalization of the activity of the national bourgeoisie, readily investing its capital in industry and trade."

It seems that the Soviet object is to dispel any notion of Soviet opposition to capitalist development in Iraq. Milovanov goes on to denounce the "propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries" which alleged that the republican government "and the democratic forces of the country" wanted to carry out immediate "socialist transformations" in Iraq; deceived by this "lying propaganda", he says, some of the national bourgeoisie had shown an inclination to transfer their capital abroad. But Qasim himself had made it clear that the government wanted investment by local capital in industrial development.

Similarly, in an editorial on the position of the Iraqi Communist Party, SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK (No.9 of 1960) observed that leading members of the Iraqi Government "have frequently stated that they regard private initiative as the basis of the country's economic progress".

The Iraqi Government's economic plans have been well publicized in the Soviet press; the aim is evidently to let these speak for themselves, and to avoid any except favourable comment. Thus SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.9 of 1960 published an article on industrialization in Iraq by the Iraqi economic Hafiz Tokmakchi, who devoted considerable attention to the problem of attracting capital into Iraq's industry. Under the previous regime, he said, national capital had been "fettered" but would now have favourable conditions for investment in industry: "the republic's policy of industrialization is based on the cooperation of the private sector, represented by the industrial middle class, and the public sector, represented by the state."

In conclusion, it would seem that it is not Soviet policy to question any of the ideological premises of the Iraqi regime, whether political or economic, but rather to place on record Soviet sympathy with these, even where they run counter to Marxist principles. On details of the actual execution of policy - as for instance in the implementation of agrarian reform (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.1 of 1960) - Soviet writers maintain the right to criticize; but the "democratic" nature of the actual programme is not questioned. One may note that Iraqi leaders themselves, such as Dr. Ibrahim Kubbah, have spoken of Iraq's regime as a "national democratic revolution". This phrase, and the expression "national democracies", is also used in a general sense - about Asian and African states whose policies have earned Communist approval - in the statement issued by the November meeting of Communist Parties in Moscow (see preceding article). Iraq was perhaps in the minds of those who adopted this new classification of "national democracies" to apply to states which, while not "socialist", pursue a policy which is considered favourable to Communist ideals.

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on Middle East events appearing in Soviet newspapers during the period 11th December - 7th January.

UAR PRAVDA (26.12.60) published an unusually lengthy report (two columns) of Nasir's speech of 25th December in Port Said. Although it did not quote Nasir's assertion that "Arab nationalism and Arab unity are the way to strength and life", PRAVDA quoted his reaffirmation of the principles of a "democratic, socialist, cooperative society" in which the remnants of colonialism and imperialism would be liquidated and "everyone would have equal opportunity and a high standard of living would be achieved". The passages reported at greatest length, however, were those about the UAR's attitude in the recent UN General Assembly debates

("The Americans tell us that we are not neutral, because at the UN we voted with the Russians 14 times and did not vote with them at all") and about the UN and the Congo ("Events in the Congo prove that the UN administrative structure needs to be changed").

PRAVDA (14.12.60) reported that the statement issued by the Moscow meeting of Communist Parties had aroused great interest in the UAR; AL-JUMHURIYAH's political correspondent had "remarked with satisfaction that the statement gives an important place to the liberation of the Asian, African and Latin American countries ... and cooperation with them in the name of preserving world peace".

It was reported (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and TRUD 28.12.60) that N.A. Mukhitdinov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had received Khalid Bakdash, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party, on 27th October, together with Hasan Koreyten, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party, both of whom had taken part in the Moscow meeting of Communist Parties.

After talks which began on 17th December, the plan for cultural exchanges between the UAR and the Soviet Union in 1961-2 was signed in Cairo on 22nd December. The Soviet delegation was headed by G.A.Zhukov (TRUD 21.12.60; PRAVDA 23.12.60).

Iraq PRAVDA (30.12.60) reported statements made at a press conference in Baghdad by the Iraqi Foreign Minister Hashim Jawad, on the subject of Khrushchev's contribution to the UN General Assembly debates: "Khrushchev ... pursued the aim of uniting the efforts of small and big states in the struggle for peace and against the cold war, and gave a new orientation in the fight against imperialism."

Saudi Arabia TRUD (28.12.60) briefly reported King Saud's decree proclaiming Saudi Arabia a constitutional monarchy, in which the government would be responsible to a national assembly.

Jordan PRAVDA (13.12.60) reported that N.A. Mukhitdinov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, had received Fuad Nassar, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Jordanian Communist Party, and had a friendly discussion with him.

Israel KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA (14.12.60) published a Tass dispatch from Tel Aviv on the subject of Israel's construction of an atomic reactor. Ben Gurion, said the dispatch, had affirmed that the reactor would be used solely for peaceful objects; but even official US representatives had

declared that the reactor was "too big to serve exclusively peaceful aims". The construction of the reactor was causing justified alarm among Israel's neighbours.

Turkey TRUD (30.12.60) published an interview given by Gen.Gursel to the newspaper KIM, on the subject of Turkey's foreign policy; this, he had said, aimed at "the creation of an atmosphere of mutual understanding and good-neighbourliness with contiguous states", and he had affirmed that relations between Turkey and the Soviet Union "are steadily improving".

IZVESTIYA and other newspapers (23.12.60) published a Tass report on the "powerful wave of demonstrations of protest throughout Turkey" at the blowing up of Ataturk's statue in Iskenderun.

Persia KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA (11.12.60) published an article by Yu. Plashevskiy entitled "Shameful masquerade" which contrasted the opulent pageantry of the Persian Court with the poverty of the Persian people. Plashevskiy made derogatory references to the published memoirs of the Shah and of Queen Soraya, and quoted at length from an interview given to the Hamburg newspaper STERN by "a Persian colonel", who declared that "corruption is the deadly canker of our country".

Gromyko on Turkey and Persia The following are excerpts of the report on the international situation presented to the sixth session of the Supreme Soviet by the Soviet Foreign Minister (PRAVDA 24.12.60):

"And what can be said about our relations with our southern neighbours Turkey and Persia? It would be superfluous to emphasize here that the Soviet Government attaches serious importance to the normalization of relations with these countries. The state leadership is known to have recently changed in Turkey. The Menderes group, which was in power and which, currying favour with NATO, was pursuing an extremely hostile policy towards the USSR, suffered a fiasco. The new leaders of Turkey have declared their intention of improving relations with the Soviet Union and reviving the Soviet-Turkish friendship which, you will remember, was characteristic of relations between both countries in the time of Lenin and Ataturk. It goes without saying that these intentions meet with full sympathy and support on the part of the Soviet Government. Let us hope that clear and warm weather, such as we all usually enjoy on coming to the Black Sea area, will be established in relations with our neighbour on the Black Sea.

"If today there is no possibility yet of telling you anything gratifying about our relations with Persia, this is by no means the fault of the Soviet Government. The Government of the USSR would like the leaders of Persia to know that the Soviet Union is sincerely striving to establish good-neighbourly relations with Persia, and if the Persian side manifests the same striving in deeds and not only in words we shall not leave it unanswered. The tense relations between the USSR and Persia have taken shape through no fault of ours. Those who profit by this are those who are against Soviet-Persian friendship and who pursue aims alien to the security both of the Soviet Union and of Persia."

SOVIET WRITINGS ON AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS

In the last few years a number of short articles have appeared in Soviet periodicals and journals devoted specifically to the working class and trade unions in Africa. The rapid growth of the trade union movement in Africa since the Second World War, its successes in the fight for better conditions for the workers and its role in the national-liberation movement in the colonies are all stressed. The need for unity in the trade union movement both of individual countries and of the continent as a whole is also a constant theme of Soviet writers, who see the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) as an imperialist instrument for disrupting this unity.

The trade union movement and the African working class Soviet writers point out that only in the Maghrib countries and the Union of South Africa was there a trade union movement before the Second World War, and only in these countries were there Communist Parties to provide the political leadership of the proletariat. The emergence of the trade union movement in virtually all the other African countries since the war, as a result of the growth of industry during and after the war and the consequent increase in the numbers of the working class, is considered an event of great importance. V.Ya. Vasil'yeva, for instance, in THE COLLAPSE OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF IMPERIALISM, Moscow, 1958, writes that "the rapid growth of the trade union movement of Africa is one of the most important factors of the post-war international trade union movement", and A. Zusmanovich in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.5 of 1958 claims that, though the working class still forms only a small percentage of the population of Africa, "the force and influence of the proletariat is imcomparably greater than its net weight in the composition of the population".

Side by side with these claims it is said, however, that not only is the working class numerically small, but in most African countries south of the Sahara it is still in the process of formation and lacks class-consciousness. Zusmanovich, for instance, says that, though the concentration of workers in big industrial undertakings facilitates their organization and the development of their class-consciousness, the fact that most of them are first-generation workers who return periodically to their native villages has the opposite effect. In PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.1 of 1960 Dr. I.I. Potekhin lists the objective reasons hindering the development of the trade union movement in Africa as "the fluctuation of manpower, the tribal differences which have not yet been overcome, the large number of languages and the almost complete illiteracy of the workers".

However, while these reasons are given by Soviet writers to explain why a large number of African workers do not yet belong to trade unions, they are considered to lose their validity when used by "the imperialists".

Thus N. Gavrilov, reviewing "Aspects sociaux de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation en Afrique au sud du Sahara", Paris, 1956, in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No.6 of 1957, dismisses the authors' claim that the workers in the Belgian Congo "have not yet matured to the concept of trade unions" and says that "the apathetic attitude to trade unions on the part of the Africans which the authors deplore is accounted for not by the 'low cultural level of the natives' but by the fact that the Africans are not attracted by the yellow trade unions set up under the aegis of the colonial authorities. When the trade unions fight for the interests of their members they enjoy enormous popularity among the workers." In PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.3 of 1959 Gavrilov writes that in West Africa there are no trade unions of migrant workers, which the colonial authorities explain by saying that the seasonal workers have not "attained" an understanding of "the concept of trade unions". He continues: "Undoubtedly the migrant workers are the most backward and least conscious part of the working class. In essence they are half workers, half peasants. Their consciousness is weighed down with patriarchal-feudal survivals. However, this cannot serve as a basis for the impossibility of setting up trade union organizations of migrant workers."

Colonial authorities and the trade union movement According to Soviet writers "the imperialists see in the growth of the trade union movement one of the main dangers to their rule. Moreover they do not hesitate to hinder its development. Anti-trade union laws, the shooting down of demonstrations and arrests of workers' leaders are common phenomena in the colonies of Africa" (D. Vol'skiy in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.1 of 1959). M.I. Braginskiy in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.5 of 1959 states that "legislation limiting the rights of trade unions exist in one form or another in all the colonies. For example, in the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi up to 1957 there were laws regulating separately the activity of the European and African trade unions. Only in 1957 was common legislation about the trade unions introduced. But even this law of 1957 puts the trade unions under the control of the colonial authorities; the latter can ban any trade union if in their opinion its activity contradicts existing laws. Only persons who have reached the age of 18, have completed not less than two classes of middle school and have been working for hire for not less than three years can be trade union members." In British colonies trade unions are subject to "compulsory registration" and the "colonial authorities maintain the right to refuse registration". In French colonies a person convicted in the courts cannot be a trade union leader; "in this way the colonial authorities strive to protect the trade unions from the influence of the more revolutionary-minded persons who, as is well known, are often prosecuted for their political activity".

Another favourite allegation of Soviet writers is that "side by side with terror and repressions the colonialists put their stakes more and

more often on splitting the workers' organizations and subjecting them to their own influence" (D. Vol'skiy in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.1 of 1959). After the colonial authorities had disbanded the East African Trade Union Congress in Kenya in 1950, Vol'skiy says, the Kenya Labour Federation was set up in 1952 "with the assistance of the authorities" who "hoped in this way to keep the workers' movement in check and make it an obedient tool in regulating labour disputes". However "the working class of Kenya destroyed their plans" and turned the Federation into "a truly national trade union centre ... actively opposing the colonial yoke". Vol'skiy describes similar tactics in Northern Rhodesia where "in 1954 as a counterbalance to the Miners' Trade Union and the Congress of African Workers they [the employers] organized the Association of Production Personnel. The employers promised promotion at work, various bonuses and privileges to miners who agreed to join it. Originally the association was a typical strike-breaking organisation. But in the course of time its character changed somewhat, and finally last year the association's leaders, under pressure from below, handed in an application to join the Congress of African Workers." V.A. Martynov, in THE CONGO UNDER THE YOKE OF IMPERIALISM, Moscow, 1959, says that "in recent years the Belgian colonialists' arsenal of demagogic resources has been supplemented by new devices. Branches of bourgeois political parties, reformist and Christian trade unions of the mother country have begun to operate in the Belgian Congo.... With their aid the colonialists count on splitting the national-liberation movement and keeping the popular masses under their influence." But the "African workers reject reformist programmes imposed on them by their guardians from Belgium" as was shown by the establishment of the National Union of Congolese Workers in Leopoldville in April 1959. N. Gavrilov in MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No.5 of 1959 describes how attempts by the French to "split the progressive trade union associations" in their colonies with the aid of "venal" trade union leaders have also not succeeded.

Of the part played by the metropolitan trade unions in the development of the African trade union movement Potekhin says in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.1 of 1960 that "the establishment of trade unions in African colonies has taken place with the assistance and under the powerful influence of the trade union movement of the mother countries. British trade unions have introduced into the trade union movement of the African colonies the workshop principle of organization, the ideology and tactics of British trade unionism. The split in the trade union movement in France was fully transferred to African soil too: each French trade union association had its branches in the African colonies. All this created further difficulties in the development of the trade union movement in African countries." In PEOPLES OF AFRICA (1954) Potekhin had written that "the disruptive so-called International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the British Trade Union Congress cause great damage to the trade union movement of Africa. Under the guise of 'aid' to the young trade unions, advisers on British trade union affairs have been

sent by them to all British colonies: active trade unionists are sent from Africa for training in Britain, where they inject into them the social reformist traditions of British trade unionism. With the active assistance of WFTU, African trade unions successfully overcome this influence and go out along the path of political struggle against imperialism."

N. Gavrilov, writing of trade unions in French African colonies in MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No.5 of 1959, says that originally the workers, having no experience, set up branches of the various metropolitan trade unions. But the Africans soon realised that to carry weight they must unite, and trade unions belonging to the French CGT played a "big role" in this movement. Eventually all the trade unions in French West Africa except those affiliated to the French Force Ouvrière formed the purely African UGTAN in January 1957 which Gavrilov describes as a "great victory for the African workers".

Racial segregation in the trade unions The authors of the chapter on the Maghrib in PEOPLES OF AFRICA (1954) say that "the workers' movement of the Maghrib countries gained a very big victory by achieving the abolition of the race barrier and the liquidation of the split of the working class by race". The European trade unions in British colonies and the Union of South Africa however come in for harsh criticism on the question of racial segregation. Of South Africa Potekhin writes in PEOPLES OF AFRICA (1954) that the first trade unions there were originally branches of the British trade unions. "On the colonial soil of South Africa", he continues, "the repulsive traditions of British trade unionism turned into an out-and-out reactionary policy. The disdain for the organization of unskilled workers on the part of the workers' aristocracy, characteristic of British trade unionism, took on a racialist hue in the Union of South Africa: the skilled workers are white, the unskilled black." He accuses the imperialists and the South African Labour Party of deliberately "poisoning the consciousness of the European workers with a racialist ideology" and claims that it was with the aid of the South African Communist Party and progressive European trade unionists that the first Bantu trade unions were set up in the 1920s. He also credits the Communist Party with the agitation for the abolition of the race barrier in the trade unions in the 1930s and after the Second World War. D. Vol'skiy, in MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No.7 of 1958, says that not only has discrimination against non-European workers increased since the Nationalists came to power but the Trade Union Council, the biggest trade union centre in the country with a membership of 150,000, mainly whites, while verbally denouncing the colour bar in industry does not in practice defend the interests of non-Europeans. He says that the policy of racial discrimination in industry is against the interests of the white workers too, since keeping wages for non-Europeans low threatens the wage level and full employment of the whites.

In another article in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.1 of 1959 Vol'skiy says of the position in Northern Rhodesia that racialist legislation hinders the setting up of mixed African and European trade unions. "Therefore the workers of European origin in Northern Rhodesia are united in their own organization, whose leaders refuse any kind of collaboration with the African trade union movement and carry out a policy which has nothing in common with the interests of the working class, with proletarian solidarity and internationalism. Many of them are connected with British monopoly capital and the top level of the country's colonial administration. On a number of questions, for example on the professional training of Africans and giving them access to skilled work, the leaders of the European trade unions take up positions which are even more reactionary than those of the colonial authorities and the employers." In PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.5 of 1959 M. Braginskiy says that the British colonialists in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika "try to get the support of the European trade unions by placing European workers in a privileged position".

Successes of the trade unions and their political role Soviet writers emphasize that despite repressions of every kind - restrictive legislation, arrests, shooting down of demonstrators, etc. - the African trade unions have achieved major successes in their economic demands through strike action, and they chronicle the strikes in various territories. However, as Potekhin says in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.1 of 1960, "in the conditions of the colonies where the working class at the present stage is opposed first of all not by the national bourgeoisie but by the monopoly companies of the imperialist powers, the fight for their economic interests inevitably takes on the character of a political struggle against colonialism." Attempts by British trade union advisers to persuade the African trade unions to limit their demands to economic ones are sharply criticized; Potekhin notes with satisfaction that "African trade unions more and more often come forward directly with political demands". V. Sidenko, in MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No.11 of 1959, quotes as instances of this the strike of Rhodesian workers on the Kariba dam in February 1959, which "was an expression of the strikers' solidarity with those taking part in the anti-colonial revolt in Nyasaland", and the demands of the trade unions in Kenya for democratic reforms, the ending of the emergency and the abolition of racial inequality. Even in an independent country such as Ethiopia "the strike struggle of the Ethiopian and Eritrean workers is directed not only towards the improvement of their economic position, but also against the dominance of foreign capital in the country", according to D.P. Voblikov in ETHIOPIA, Moscow, 1959.

Another important factor, according to Vol'skiy in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.1 of 1959, is that "the African national bourgeoisie, although it stands, as a rule, at the head of the national organizations fighting

for liberation, cannot however do without the wide support of the working masses. In many countries trade unions belong to national African organizations and actively participate in their actions." Thus Potekhin claims that "Ghana won independence in a large measure thanks to the fact that the trade unions unreservedly and resolutely supported the CPP headed by Kwame Nkrumah. In Guinea at the time of the referendum of 28th September 1958 the workers, on the appeal of their trade unions led by the Democratic Party headed by Sekou Toure, unanimously expressed themselves against the project of a new constitution proposed by the French Government. In Northern Rhodesia the workers' trade unions were the main force on which the African National Congress relied at the time of its greatest activity. In Kenya the group of Tom Mboya plays a big role in political life since the Kenya Labour Federation stands behind it." (PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.1 of 1960).

Potekhin goes on to say, however, that largely due to the lack of "independent working-class parties" in the majority of African countries, the working class has still not become the leader of the broad popular masses. To realize this role the working class should ally itself with the peasant masses and petty bourgeoisie, for which favourable opportunities exist in view of the fact that their interests coincide in the struggle against colonialism. But the working class itself and its organizations are weak and the trade unions do not carry on work among the peasants. Even in the French colonies, where the conference of trade unions in Bamako in 1951 called for work among the peasants, the results of the 1958 referendum showed that "in the French colonies too the peasant masses still do not go behind the working class".

Soviet writers have as yet devoted little attention to the activities of the trade unions in independent African states such as Ghana, Guinea, Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco. As regards Guinea, the close association between the Democratic Party of Guinea and the country's trade unions is approved by Soviet writers since the Democratic Party itself, broadly speaking, has their approval. On the situation in Tunisia and Morocco Yu. Potemkin, writing in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.5 of 1959, has the following to say: "In contrast to the Moroccan trade unions, which are really not dependent on the government and are boldly defending the direct interests of the working class against French and Moroccan employers and also putting forward a number of important political demands, the General Union of Tunisian Workers is under the monopoly control of the Neo-Destour party and does not play an independent political role."

Moves towards unity Soviet writers constantly stress the importance of unity in the trade union movement both in individual territories and on the continent of Africa as a whole, but they accuse ICFTU and Western "reformist" organizations such as the British TUC of working against such unity.

The inaugural conference of the All-African Trade Union Federation which was originally to have been held in Casablanca in May 1960 and then in August 1960 was welcomed by Soviet writers. Alla Lyubarskaya writing in NEW TIMES No.22 of 1960 noted that while the preparatory committee was meeting in Accra in November 1959 "the reformist ICFTU convoked its own regional African conference in Lagos at the same time. This was a new attempt to split the trade union movement. But the reactionary ICFTU leaders suffered a fiasco. They failed to divert the African workers from their path of political and economic struggle." A recent article in TRUD of 20th November 1960 by M. Sedov and I. Penchenko described the ICFTU's greatly increased interest in Africa and the differences between American and British trade union leaders over the policy it should follow there. They continued: "Despite the enormous efforts made by many political and trade union figures of Africa the all-African inaugural conference has still not taken place. This is a direct result of the disruptive activity of ICFTU and American emissaries in Africa. As the press has reported, in particular the South African journal FIGHTING TALK, the Americans forced many African trade union figures to refuse to support the idea of establishing a united all-African trade union association, fearing that they would not succeed in establishing their colonialist control over it." ICFTU, "by way of direct bribery and blackmail", had succeeded in splitting a number of African trade union associations. "Finally, the other day in Tunis it held a conference of African trade unions drawn into its orbit at which the so-called African Regional Organisation of "Free Trade Unions" (ARC) was set up. The latter has been given the task of further increasing the split in the trade union movement in Africa." But the article ends on the usual optimistic note, with Sedov and Penchenko saying: "The colonialist course of ICFTU, no matter what effort the confederation makes, is doomed to failure. Among the workers of Africa the understanding grows of the need to unite their ranks not under the wing of their former oppressors but under the banner of the struggle for the immediate abolition of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations. African workers share the conviction voiced in the recent statement by the leader of UGTAN, Sekou Toure: 'As for the activity of the International Confederation of "Free Trade Unions", I will say that its attempts to disrupt trade union unity in Africa will suffer defeat as political and military plots have suffered defeat.'"

Influencing the rank and file But, if UGTAN and its all-African initiatives are approved, while ICFTU and its corresponding initiatives are denounced, it does not follow that Soviet Communists regard the rank and file of "reformist" trade unions as irrevocably lost to the opposing camp. In an article in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.2 of 1959, entitled "Some peculiarities of the workers' movement in countries of the East in the present period", V.V. Balabushevich depicted the "violent growth" of trade unions in under-developed countries - even where these were

"reformist trade unions led by the bourgeoisie" - as in itself an encouraging development, since the rank and file of these trade unions were susceptible to ideological influence:

> "In connection with the rapid growth in the ranks of the trade unions, not a few politically inexperienced workers have entered them who are not yet cast in the proletarian mould and who have not yet acquired militant traditions, but who, to make up for this, are uncorrupted by reformist ideology. This to a certain extent facilitates the dissemination of proletarian class ideology among the working masses. Activity among the working masses is helped, without doubt, by the fact that inside the reformist alliances and unions there are a number of revolutionary groups and whole trade unions."

Such considerations perhaps explain why Soviet writers, while condemning ICFTU and "reformist" trade unions in general terms, are cautious about criticizing trade union organizations in individual African countries; whatever their actual affiliations, their potential political role must be borne in mind. Further, the attitude of the Communist World Federation of Trade Unions must be a guiding consideration. In his report to the Peking meeting of the WFTU General Council Ibrahim Zakariyah, the General Secretary of WFTU, spoke of the assistance given by WFTU to African trade union organizations, whether WFTU-affiliated, ICFTU-affiliated or independent, in the common "struggle against colonialism" (TRUD 7.6.60). He said that the WFTU supported the struggle of the workers of Nyasaland, whose trade union organization belonged to ICFTU, as it did that of Sudanese workers, whose organization belonged to WFTU; and the fact that UGTAN "is an independent trade union organization" did not prevent WFTU from collaborating with it and giving it assistance in the creation of the biggest undertaking of its kind in Africa, the trade union school in Conakry.

AFRICA IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on African affairs appearing in the Soviet press during the period 18th December 1960 - 10th January 1961.

The Declaration on Independence for Colonial Peoples

On 28th December PRAVDA published a long statement by Khrushchev "concerning the UN General Assembly declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples". Khrushchev made clear the extent to which the Soviet Union supported the statement and itself claimed credit for its submission to the General Assembly. In the Assembly's approval of the statement, he said, "the peoples can congratulate themselves on a great success". Like the declaration earlier put forward by the Soviet Union, its basis was "one chief conclusion - the necessity for the earliest and complete abolition of colonialism everywhere, in all its forms and manifestations". The essence of the Soviet proposals was reflected in the UN decision. "Thus the Soviet declaration may be viewed as the political foundation of the UN resolution."

The declaration as adopted, said Khrushchev, "contains traces of a certain compromise between the points of view of various states". There were obvious differences between it and the Soviet declaration:

> "The Soviet declaration is distinguished by far greater profundity, basic soundness, clarity and consistency; it contains a sharp and profound criticism of present-day colonialism and expresses the interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind. The Soviet Government's proposals ... aim at a thorough reconstruction of all the relations between states and peoples which have been inherited from times past when imperialism reigned in the world."

On the voting for the Soviet declaration Khrushchev observed:

> "From 25 to 32 countries voted in favour of different sections of the Soviet declaration, with 29 to 30 countries abstaining. In other words, countries where the overwhelming majority of mankind lives voted for our draft. Thus the ideas of the Soviet declaration accord with the interests of the majority of the population of the earth, as a broad political platform in the struggle against colonialism."

The main task now, said Khrushchev, was "to make sure ... that the demands proclaimed in this declaration do not remain on paper only but are embodied in practical action".

The Casablanca Conference

The proceedings and decisions of the Casablanca conference of leaders of African states were publicized in the Soviet press. IZVESTIYA's Cairo correspondent Kondrashov visited Casablanca to cover the conference. In a dispatch under the heading "The Casablanca Charter (IZVESTIYA 10.1.61) he said that local observers attached particular importance to the fourth point in the conference communique, which stated that if the UN command in the Congo did not carry out the tasks set it, then the conference participants reserved the right to take appropriate measures. This, he said, was considered to refer to "a plan, worked out in secret session, for practical measures outside the UN framework for aid to the lawful Congolese Government now in Stanleyville, if the UN does not assist the restoration of its authority". Kondrashov also contrasted the Casablanca and Brazzaville conferences:

> "The anti-imperialist African states whose leaders met in Morocco were seeking unity - not the unity of the imperialist puppets like that which they recently tried to demonstrate in Brazzaville, but unity for the sake of a more decisive and effective struggle against imperialism."

Congo

16.12.60 A Tass dispatch from Cairo (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA) reported that Nasir had received a telegram from Stanleyville from Antoine Gizenga, "who is performing the functions of Prime Minister of the lawful Congolese Government"; Gizenga informed him that the central government had temporarily transferred its place of residence to Stanleyville, and asked Nasir for aid in foodstuffs and arms, since the "imperialist puppet Mobutu" had "unleashed civil war against the forces supporting the lawful government".

19.12.60 PRAVDA reported Mobutu's visit to Coquilhatville and his preparations for military operations against Stanleyville.

21.12.60 A Tass dispatch from Cairo (PRAVDA VOSTOKA) reported a press statement made there by Bernard Salumu, district commissioner of Equatoriale province and "representative of the lawful Government of the Congo", who was visiting African and Asian countries to inform them on the situation in the Congo. He said that the government formed in Stanleyville would exist until Lumumba was released and resumed his functions; its formal recognition by other states was not required.

23.12.60 IZVESTIYA published a report on the fate of refugees in southern Kasai, for which it blamed the Tshombe government; "they fled to this region from Katanga to escape Tshombe's punitive squads, which have set up a regime of the most brutal terror and repression in the northern part of the province."

25.12.60 PRAVDA reported an exchange of telegrams between Gizenga in Stanleyville and Khrushchev. Gizenga (the text of whose telegram was not published) was stated to have informed Khrushchev of "the threat to Equatoriale province from the Mobutu bands, who have unleashed a civil war". In his reply Khrushchev spoke of his anxiety about the situation in the Congo, and of the "wrath and indignation" of the Soviet people at the "continuing aggression of the imperialist powers": "I want to assure you that the Soviet Government ... has been giving and continues to give all possible support and assistance to the Congolese people and its lawful government in the just struggle against the colonialists. I express my firm conviction that the Congolese people's courageous struggle for freedom and national independence will be crowned with complete success."

26.12.60 PRAVDA gave an account of a statement made by Manzikala, head of the government of Equatoriale province (reported by the Yugoslav news agency Tanyug). The Congolese Government in Stanleyville, he said, was ready to defend itself against any possible attack by the Mobutu bands. The blockade set up by Mobutu had created serious difficulties, and his government might have to turn for aid to the African countries.

28.12.60 IZVESTIYA reported an interview given to its Cairo correspondent by Pierre Mulele, Congolese Minister of National Education, who was leading a delegation from Stanleyville "to establish contacts with African and other states with the aim of obtaining the assistance we need". On the military situation, Mulele said it was important to realize that the Congolese army, before independence, was organized in three groups: the first group, in Kasai and Katanga provinces, was "scattered and later finally disbanded by the Belgian colonialists and Tshombe"; the second group, in Leopoldville and Equatoriale provinces, was rendered powerless by "the Belgians and the Mobutu clique with the active assistance of the UN command"; but the third group, in Equatoriale and Kivu provinces, remained a coherent military unit and was later joined by officers and men from the other groups, and now numbered 10,000 men, which were at the complete disposal of the government in Stanleyville. Mulele also gave the names of representatives of the various parties now in the Stanleyville government, between whom, he said, "full unity and cooperation exists".

31.12.60 PRAVDA said that the Sudanese Government had agreed to a request from the Stanleyville government for medical supplies and doctors. IZVESTIYA, quoting Tanyug, said that the Lumumbist forces of Gen.Lundula controlled, in addition to Equatoriale province, the whole eastern part of Kivu province, including Kindu.

2.-4.1.61 Soviet newspapers published reports of the attempt by Mobutu forces to capture Bukavu, and of their use of Ruanda-Urundi territory as a base for the attack. PRAVDA (4.1.61) said that the Mobutu parachutists were "almost entirely annihilated", and the rest fled into Ruanda-Urundi.

4.1.61 PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA said that, when Kasavubu and Mobutu held a military parade in Luluabourg, a crowd of 3,000 shouted pro-Lumumba slogans.

6.1.61 PRAVDA published an article by Nikolay Prozhogin entitled "All possible support for the fighters for the freedom and independence of the Congo!" Prozhogin said that "alarming news" continued to come from the Congo. "The Belgian colonialists and the armed bands of Mobutu's cutthroats have carried out another aggression against the young African Republic. Using Ruanda-Urundi, the UN trusteeship territory under Belgian control, as a bridgehead the invading troops have begun wide-scale military action against the armed forces of the lawful Government of the Congo Republic." It was no accident that this military action coincided with the alarming news coming from Cuba and Laos. "It is in these three countries, former colonies, that the bankrupt Eisenhower-Nixon government is trying to take revenge for its defeat. Living through its last days, this government is doing everything it can in its impotent wrath to leave the world in anxiety and tension." Hammarskjoeld had arrived in Leopoldville on 4th January, but he "seemed unimpressed by the demonstration in Leopoldville demanding ... the immediate release of Lumumba"; he was not concerned to defend the Congolese people against the aggressors, being "always concerned with the welfare of the colonialists only".

10.1.61 Under the heading "The downfall of the puppets is inevitable" PRAVDA published reports that Manono and the northern part of Katanga was now under the control of pro-Lumumba forces; that this had "caused panic among the henchmen of the colonialists"; and that, according to the DAILY MAIL correspondent in Leopoldville, two-thirds of Mobutu's supporters had gone over into the Lumumba camp.

Algeria

Reporting the conclusion of the UN Political Committee debate on Algeria, a Tass dispatch (IZVESTIYA 17.12.60) said: "The USA again showed itself among the most ardent partisans of preservation of the colonial regime in Algeria and opponents of a peaceful solution of the Algerian question. Yesterday it refused to support the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and today it voted against the right of the Algerian people to decide their own fate in freedom."

On 18th December PRAVDA published Khrushchev's reply to Ferhat Abbas's telegram of 12th December. (Ferhat Abbas had stated that French troops were "proceeding to the wholesale extermination" of Algerians in the Casbah quarter of Algiers, and had asked Khrushchev to do everything to stop this "overt genocide".) Khrushchev said that the Soviet people and Government denounced these "mass murders ... and cruel punitive measures" and had "demanded an immediate end to reprisals against Algerian patriots"; he expressed his confidence in the victory of the Algerian people.

A PRAVDA article of 18th December, signed "Observer", condemned the referendum as part of "the manoeuvres of the French colonialists". It said that the first part of the question put to voters, referring to self-determination for Algeria, was calculated to attract the large number of supporters of self-determination in both France and Algeria; but the part concerning a new administrative order for Algeria was designed to suit those who opposed the satisfaction of the Algerian people's aspirations. The main aim of the French colonialists was once again to avoid fulfilling the demand of the French and Algerian public to end the war and grant Algeria self-determination.

A dispatch from IZVESTIYA's Paris correspondent S. Zykov (22.12.60) said that the draft law which the voters were asked to approve would mean rejection of negotiations and continuation of the war; "whoever wants to say 'yes' to peace must say 'no' to the referendum." A dispatch from PRAVDA's Paris correspondent G. Ratiani (7.1.61) emphasized the "propaganda efforts" being made to secure an affirmative vote, and made no forecast of the outcome.

A first report on the referendum results (PRAVDA 9.1.61), under the heading "Unpopular referendum", said that voting was "considerably less active than in the 1958 referendum". On 10th January IZVESTIYA published comparative figures to show the increase in "no" votes and the decrease in "yes" votes since 1958, and said that "only a little more than half the French voters yesterday gave an affirmative reply to de Gaulle"; as regards Algeria, most of the "yes" votes had been in the country and the villages, where the army influenced voters, but the population of the towns, "responding to the appeal of the provisional government of the

Algerian Republic, not only boycotted the referendum but, despite brutal repressive measures, came out into the streets with the flags of the national liberation movement". PRAVDA (10.1.61) spoke of the "courage and heroism" of the Muslims of Algeria in boycotting the referendum and defying it with demonstrations demanding independence; "the struggle of the Algerian people for freedom and independence continues."

The Sahara Atomic Bomb Test

Soviet newspapers gave considerable publicity to protests in African countries and in the Soviet Union against the third French atomic test explosion in the Sahara. IZVESTIYA (28.12.60) said that "in Paris it is considered that it is no accident that the new explosion was timed to coincide with the climax of the Algeria referendum campaign". The principal Soviet pronouncements on the subject were a Tass statement (IZVESTIYA and - in full - KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 1.1.61) and a PRAVDA article signed "Observer" (9.1.61). These said that the atomic tests were an attempt to intimidate the African peoples, and above all the Algerian people; that they flouted the resolutions of the UN General Assembly; and that they had the tacit approval of the USA and Britain, exposing their "false position" in the Geneva atomic disarmament discussions.

Other Countries

Libya On the occasion of Libyan Independence Day, PRAVDA (25.12.60) published an account by its special correspondent of his impressions of a visit to Tripoli and Benghazi. He spoke in particular of the improved prospects for Libya's economy following the exploitation of newly discovered oil deposits, and of the possibility of revision of the agreements with the USA and Britain on military bases, since the rent for these was no longer so important for the economy.

Sudan PRAVDA (27.12.60) reported that President Abbud had accepted an invitation from Khrushchev and Brezhnev to pay a state visit to the Soviet Union; the date would be arranged later. On the occasion of Sudanese Independence Day, 1st January, PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA published articles on the progress made by the Sudanese Republic in its first five years, noting in particular the development of friendly relations with the Soviet Union since the signing of the first Sudanese-Soviet trade agreement in 1959.

Ethiopia Soviet newspapers published, without comment, Western agency messages on the suppression of the Ethiopian revolt. TRUD (29.12.60) published a Tass report from Addis Ababa on the work done by the Soviet hospital there in tending the wounded. Tass reports from New York spoke of US involvement in the revolt. One (IZVESTIYA 22.12.60) said that the US Ambassador Richards had denied reports that he was present when the mutineers shot Ethiopian Ministers, but noted that he had escaped from a window of the palace after carrying messages between the two sides. Another (IZVESTIYA and KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 29.12.60) referred to the US telecommunications centre in Asmara, "which serves, in essence, as the US espionage centre in the African continent". This said that, according to an AP correspondent in Asmara, this centre transmitted the information on which were based such important decisions as whether to land marines in the Lebanon, or to airlift forces to the Congo. "Evidently the same communications centre was used by the US State Department to receive information and send instructions to Ambassador Richards during the days of the anti-government revolt in Ethiopia."

A Tass dispatch from Addis Ababa (PRAVDA 27.12.60) said that the Ethiopian authorities had banned the distribution of the latest issues of TIME and NEWSWEEK, "in which the recent events in Ethiopia were portrayed in a false light".

Kenya A Tass dispatch from London (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 21.12.60) quoted a DAILY TELEGRAPH report on a movement to separate from Kenya the coastal belt of the Kenya Protectorate. "The separatists affirm that Macleod has promised to consider their demands 'sympathetically'." This, said Tass, was easy to understand, since the territory contained the British naval base of Mombasa.

TRUD (31.12.60) published an article, "My New Year Toast", by the Kenya student Jifri Kimoto Gatendi. A great event of 1960, said Gatendi, had been Khrushchev's declaration on the liquidation of colonialism; events in Kenya had shown that the colonialists were unwilling to surrender their positions, but he hoped that 1961 would be the year of the final liquidation of colonialism.

Uganda TRUD (6.1.61) published an article by Yu. Tomilin on the situation in Buganda. Without properly explaining the relationship between the Buganda independence movement and the Uganda nationalist movement as a whole, Tomilin nevertheless observed that "the Baganda's struggle for independence is seriously weakened by separatism and isolation from the national liberation movement of the whole of Uganda"; only solidarity against the common enemy of colonialism, he said, could ensure final victory for the peoples of Africa.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland A Tass dispatch from London (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 27.12.60) reported the return of Nkomo, Nkumbula and Kaunda to Salisbury from London: "About 1,000 Africans ... welcomed their leaders shouting the slogans 'No compromise between freedom and slavery' and 'No submission to white domination'."

Nigeria TRUD (18.12.60), reporting the Nigerian Premier's message of thanks to Khrushchev for his good wishes on Nigeria's independence, noted that he said that his government was actively considering the question of the exchange of diplomatic representatives between the USSR and Nigeria.

TRUD (17.12.60) published an article by the Nigerian writer Kowaynde Wogan on the significance for Africa of the declaration on the liquidation of colonialism. This declaration, he said, had only been possible through the victory of the October Revolution 43 years ago. He went on to speak of the influence in Africa of the political ideas of the October Revolution during the 1920s and 1930s, and in particular since the Second World War.

Ghana PRAVDA (27.12.60) published an account by its Accra correspondent Orestov of a visit to Bui, on the Black Volta river, where Soviet engineers are to construct a dam and hydro-electric station. The hydro-electric station, said Orestov, would have a capacity of 200,000 kw., which was twice the present output of all power stations in Ghana.

Guinea A Tass dispatch from Conakry (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 3.1.61) reported the discovery of a new plot against the Guinean Republic; emigres from the country, operating in Senegal with French support, were said to have been preparing to smuggle arms into Guinea and to sabotage the elections of 15th January.

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